3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

273 438 The latter will often obtain everything that an Indian owns except his Breech-clout. For their skins the Indians get from the traders powder, lead, rifle-barrelled guns—for other weapons they do not value — blankets, strouds, linen, shirts, cotton, 439 callemanco,[297] knives, needles, thread, woolen and silken ribbon, wire and kettles of brass, silver buckles, — these are considered as valuable as gold and with them they can purchase almost anything — bracelets, thimbles, rings, combs, mirrors, axes, hatchets and other tools.

535 If the young are at home and not on the chase hardly a night passes without a dance. The women, who always follow the men, dancing in a circle, act with decency and becoming modesty, as if they were engaged in the most serious business. Neither laughing nor levity are to be noticed and they never speak a word to a man, for this would injure their character. They neither jump nor skip, but move one foot after the other slightly forwards then backwards, yet so as to advance gradually. The men shout and leap and stamp with such violence that the ground trembles under their feet. Whatever man acts in the oddest and most ridiculous manner is the most regarded. They dance in a circle around the fire. Often in the midst of the dance they will all hold their heads forward over the fire, stand bowed or leap and stamp, singing all the time; suddenly they stand erect again and move forward. They make all manner of unusual movements to show their agility and skill. They have no other music than the drum. When one dance has been finished the one who beats the drum sings and beats until another begins. There is always a leader whom all watch carefully and follow. They have various kinds of dances, some acquired from the other nations.

526 The young men often wrestle to test their strength. The one thrown is not angered but admits the other to be his master. Another mode of testing strength is in trying to lift some large stone, or throwing a stone of considerable size the greatest distance possible.

525 Nine-pins, ball-playing and cards they have learned from the whites. The Indian game of dice is the most popular of

3: Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7
Iroquois NM9

amusements. They may devote days in succession to it, always gambling on the throwing. Among the Mingoes I have observed that two towns brought together goods, blankets, strowds, shirts, linen and played for them. In this case the game lasted eight days. The dice are placed in a dish, lifted up and thrown forcibly on the ground. The people of the two towns met daily during the period named and every inhabitant of each town threw the dice once. This done they parted for the day and each party separately offered a sacrifice in the evening. In connection with the sacrifice they had their special ceremonies, consisting in a man going several times 'round a fire, throwing tobacco into it and singing a song. Afterwards the whole company danced. This continued for eight days. When the winners bore away the spoil in triumph.

The boys exercise by shooting at a mark with bow and arrow. They may throw something into the air and shoot at it, the one hitting the object being regarded as a good marksman. As soon as they are able to run about they learn to use the bow and arrow. When they grow older they shoot pigeons, squirrels, birds and even raccoon with their bows and arrows.

Two comrades who have been reared together or have become attached to one another will be very close and constant companions. If one goes on a journey or to hunt the other will, if possible, accompany him. It seems almost impossible for either of them to live without the other, and for one to give up his companion, as may be necessary when one becomes a Christian, is very hard. Often such friends will make a covenant with one another to remain together and share alike possessions and knowledge.[***] If they go to war together and one perishes the other will fight desperately to avenge him, accounting his own life as nothing.

In traveling in companies they are very companionable and follow some recognized leader. The younger element, on such journeys, engages in the hunt and if deer or bear is shot, the carcass is brought to camp and laid at the fire of the one who is held to be leader. He divides the meat among all, share and share alike. No complaint is ever heard that one has received more than another. If the chiefs have a journey to make, they

Marriage arrangements were always simple, but it was definitely considered better form for the negotiations to take place between the two sets of parents rather than between the individuals concerned. In this type of negotiation, the man's mother took animal food which he had killed to the girl's mother; according to some sources, a return gift was made of corn food prepared by the girl (Harrington, 1908, p.215; Heckewelder, 1881, pp.161-72; Zeisberger, 1910, p.78). It was not unusual, however, for the agreement to take place directly between the boy and girl in which case they might or might not go through these formalities. Loskiel, who is the only author who mentions the subject of residence after marriage, says that the newly married couple often lived with friends for a short time until they built their own house (Loskiel, p.56).

The man was responsible for building the house and providing axes, hoes, canoes, dishes and household equipment although the girl might supply some things. The man was expected to support the family by hunting, trapping and fishing, and the game which he brought home was the property of his wife to use as she saw fit. She was equally responsible, however, for agricultural produce and cooking; and if she were remiss, might be reminded of her neglect by her husband's taking to the woods without telling her he planned to do so. She also carried packs in traveling, tanned skins and fetched wood (Penn, p.30; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 155-160; G.Thomas, p.341).

There was apparently no strong pressure put upon the couple to remain together after they were married. Although later writers state that marriages were formerly more stable, they present no evidence to substantiate this. Polygyny was permitted but infrequent (Heckewelder, 1881, p.154; Harrington, 1913, p.215; Zeisberger, 1910, pp.78-9; Loskiel, p.57). After the death of a spouse, the widow or widower, but more particularly the former, was expected to remain single for a year, but it is clear that this was frequently not done (Brickell, p.49; Loskiel, p.121).

Social Life and Organization

Most of Delaware social behavior is a closed book to us as the early observers did not usually have long contacts with them in their villages. The early writers were aware, however, that the Indian expected to be fed when he visited them, and that they were always offered food when they visited him. Likewise they noted that gifts passed readily from hand to hand among the Indians although property rights were clearly understood (Lindstrom p.233; Danckaerts, pp.80 and 159; Penn, p.32).

The following games were probably played in this early period: footraces (Lindstrom, p.191); a gambling game in which flat bones,

painted a different color on each side, were thrown up and caught, the goal being to get as many of a particular color as possible; and another in which an object was hidden under one of several moccasins and the players attempted to guess which one it was under (Denny, p.265; Brinton, 1888, p.40; Loskiel, p.105). The vigorous dances engaged in by the Delaware were also noted although no early writer mentions (as Zeisberger, writing in the eighteenth century does) that dances were held most evenings that the men were not out hunting (Penn, p.38; Zeisberger, 1870, p.90). Later writers all agree that the Delaware were a sociable people given to frequent visiting and communal games and dances (Zeisberger, 1870, p.67; Heckewelder, 1881, pp.101-3 and 149).

This may be the most suitable place to mention the dogs kept by the Delaware since it seems most likely that they were kept merely as pets. Their remains have not been found in great abundance and in most cases where they were found they appear to have been deliberately buried. There is only one instance where there is some question whether the animal had been used as a sacrifice (Skinner, 1915, p.48; Heye, p.59).

At the time of contact, the Lenape were living in villages composed of several groups of families in the summer and hunting in single family groups in winter. The associations of families constituted bands, the names of which generally had some reference to the territory which they occupied.[18] In the eighteenth century Heckewelder reported a double division of the tribe into three sub-tribes, called Unami, Unalachtigo and Munsee, and into three genealogical "totems" which I will call phratries. The phratries were named Turtle, Turkey and Wolf, and Heckewelder equated them with the sub-tribes. He believed that the divisions had existed in the contact period also (Heckewelder, 1881, pp.51-2). Morgan, in the late nineteenth century, found that the Munsee, who are generally called the "Wolf Tribe", actually had members belonging to all three phratries, and Harrington found the same situation in the twentieth century (Morgan, 1912, p.171; Harrington, 1913, p.209). The Munsee had a tradition, however, that the three phratries formerly occupied separate villages.

Both Harrington and Morgan found the modern Delaware phratries divided into matrilineal clans, the names of which were not totemic (Harrington, p.210; Morgan, 1912, p.177). The only evidence of totemic beliefs is a vague association between the turtle phratry and the mythical turtle in the creation myth and, of course, the phratry names themselves. The only evidence for the regulation of marriage by any social unit is found in Zeisberger who says that no Indian will marry within his own tribe as he considers himself too closely related to the other individuals in it. But his use of the word "tribe" is not clear so that the problem of which

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

THE SPRING PRAYER AND FOOTBALL CEREMONY TO ADVANCE VEGETATION

An important rite took place in the spring at a time coinciding with the first appearance and growth of vegetation. The rite has lost most of its former strictness, and its performance in recent times is apparently of shorter duration. Without going into speculation upon its original character, we have certain particulars to place on record, of which the following text and description of a football ceremony as part of the celebration are of considerable interest. In describing the festival the text of the annual spring prayer will be given then a sketch of the football ceremony. The prayer is the formal prelude to the occasion and seems to embody the dominant spirit of thanksgiving and supplication in behalf of a vigorous growth of vegetation upon which the Delawares placed such stress in their economic existence. The prayer contains some finely worded passages and shows perhaps more than other declamations the power of expression of which the native mind is capable when stimulated to religious emotion by the contemplation of the blessings brought to man by the heat of the sun, moisture and the glorious realm of plant life.

There is reason to trace much of the ceremonial make-up of this festival to the Shawnee with whom the Delawares were, and still are, so closely associated. Until we have the results of the painstaking study of Shawnee ethnology in course of preparation by Dr. and Mrs. Voegelin it is wiser not to draw conclusions on this point.

The concept that trees are capable of breathing utterances has not died out in human letters among modern European poets [1] whose muse is of a much later birth than that of the

[1] For instance, among the latest; Stephen Vincent Benét ("John Brown's Body," N. Y., 1928),

> "I heard the song of breath . . .
> Solemn harps of the fir. .
> And the vast, tiny grass
> Blown by a breath and speaking."

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

The Spring Dance may be called to performance by a chief of any one of the three ceremonial social groups, Wolf, Turkey or Tortoise. It is he who is responsible for the prayer which opens the event. Besides the prayer or invocation, he is expected to deliver a sermon before the dancing begins, the text of which follows the general pattern of such declamations among the more devout Indians over the whole Algonkian-speaking area, as I have had occasion to observe it. In this talk he tells the people that they must conduct themselves as is proper in a ceremonial dance, to show respect to the aged, to reverence the purpose of the dance and game and at the same time to extract as much good and enjoyment out of it as possible because the Creator intends for them to have it as a period of enjoyment. He sagely observes in closing that the Creator looks upon his people as his children and wishes for them to enjoy themselves as such without causing trouble.

In recent times the reduction of the rite to a mere football game seems to have been the tendency among the Oklahoma Delawares. The main officer is the fire guardian and dance promoter known by his office as *pu'tcəl*, who lectures the participants cautioning them against drinking, violence, scuffling or the leveling off of grudges during the game and dance. The dance song is accompanied by the water-drum. There are both women's dances and the ordinary "Stomp" or leading dances, and then mixed dances continuing through the night. The concluding dance is the parting dance, the so-called Drunken Dance, which terminates all Delaware social dance gatherings and takes place just before the break of dawn (see p. 98).

After the first night of the dance it is held over again for several nights, usually taking place the last of each week, the dance lasting over Saturday night.

The general details of the football game are as follows. The opposite sides are composed of an equal number of men and women. There are two goals, one at each end of the smooth area known as the football ground. The goal poles are two uprights eight or nine feet in height set about four

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

feet apart. To score a goal the ball must go between these poles. The opponents are allowed to throw and wrestle with each other, but must not hurt one another intentionally. The game is played for a score of twelve or twenty goals. The record of goals secured is kept by a score-keeper who is provided with a number of sharp sticks one of which he sticks into the ground as each goal is won by the sides. Wagering is customary, and ribbons, beads, breastpins, bracelets or money are placed in a pile on the outcome of the contest.

Mention should be made of the ball. It is composed of a bundle of deer hair sewed in buckskin cover and is about eight inches in diameter.

When the ball season has reached its end about the close of June, the chief orders the discontinuation of the game. And after the final game he takes the ball and makes a speech saying that the season is now to be closed until the next year. At the conclusion of his speech he takes the deer-hair filling out of the ball and cuts the cover in halves. This is the sign to all that the football festival season is over.[1]

SPRING PRAYER

Elaŋgu'ndieŋg"	wani'ci·	yu'kwe	ki·'ckwi·k	təli·'	
My kindred	I am thankful	now	this day	that	
məca"'taməne"n	elki·'kwi·	wəle"ləm·u'k·weŋg	ə'nda		
we are thinking	how	the blessings	when		
ko'xən·a	ke"tan'to'wi·t'	məca"'kweŋg	ək	kəne"'məne"n	
our father	Great Spirit	remembers us	and	we can see	
təli·'	i·'ka	pe"te"'ləmuk·o"'ne"n	ə'nda	si·'kwunami·'eŋg"	
that	so to now	we live to see	when	it is spring time we see together	
wu'ndji·	wəla"te"'nami·'ne"n	ə'nda	ne"'meŋg"	we"'mi·	
that is why	we are thankful rejoice	when	we see	every	
ke'ko	li'	sa'k·an	ək	kəmuxo"'məna"'nak	hi·'t'kuk
thing	how	coming up	and	our grandfathers	trees
sa"'k·ali·'yək	yu'kwe	we"'mi·	elama"'kami·k'	wəli·na"'-	
they send out bud	now	all	over the universe	looks	

[1] Later information states that the ball is not destroyed at the end of the game except when it was conducted upon the principle of the Shawnee ruling which prevailed in Delaware tradition through the influence of this tribe.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

they through this later will get in their hunt so much the greater blessing. Then they sing and dance and when they become jolly and happy then they cry and sing thus namely:[7] *Hägginj, hä, hä, hä; Hägginj hä; Hägginj hä; Hägginj hä, hä, hä, hä*, etc. Thus repeating and continuing so long a time, so that it reaches well over the forest.[8]

In this their convention[9] they [also] practice shooting. He who is sachem has a turkey placed very high in the air, whose entrails are removed and [the body] filled again with their money.[10] And the one who then can shoot it down, he receives the money, *et talia*, etc.

In the meantime later in the year, when the grass has thus been burnt off the land, they do not care to arrange any more such hunts,[11] but shoot the animals wherever they find them in the woods, which they have no difficulty in doing, because they have scent of the animals like the dogs; for often the savages say to the Christians, when they follow them in the woods: "Indeed I now feel the scent of deer, if I wanted to bother to go after them." This the Christians did not believe in the beginning, before they followed them, and got to see that they were right. Otherwise they are so perfect in shooting that they do not miss.

And the savage is so armstrong that he is able to shoot with a bow so far, that no gun can carry

[7] *Tå roopa the och sunga sådedes, nämbl.*
[8] So that it can be heard far over the forest. *Hegginj*, etc., the final *j* is used for *i*. Cf. Holm, *Kort Beskrifning*, 153 ff.; above, p. XL.
[9] *Uthi detta sitt consent.*
[10] Wampum.
[11] Like the one described above.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946 NM7 Delaware NM7
728 276 526 525 524

+ = element present
− = element denied
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous
• = informant could not or would not say
S = some, sometimes, or several
? or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chipps	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
419. War chief leaves war club at house of enemy chief to show desire for peace						−	−	+	•+	•	−	•
420. Delaware act part of mediators between other tribes						+	+	•	+	•	•	+
421. Terms of peace negotiated				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Peace—Continued												
422. By village chiefs							+	+	+	+	+	+
423. By council							+				+	+
424. By persons appointed					+	+						
425. Ceremonies at conclusion of peace: Dancing		+				+	+	−	+	−	+	+
426. Feasts						−	•(+)	−	+	•+	+	+
427. Belts exchanged				+			+	+	+		+	+
428. Pipe smoked				+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
429. Anything like flags of truce before whites					−	−	−		•+	•	+	•
430. Flags or armorial bearings					−	−	−	•	•	•	−	•
Games												
431. Ball play				+		•	+	+	−	+	−	−
432. Football	+					+	•	•	•+	•+	+	•+
433. Dice game	+			+		+	•	+	+	+	+	+
434. Number of colors				2		2	2	2	2	2	2	2
435. Number of dice				6		5-6	6	6	7	6	8	12
436. Cards	•+	•+		+		+		+	−	+	−	•+
437. Quoits				+					−	−	+	+
438. Wrestling				+		+		+	+	+	+	+
439. Racing	+					+		+	+	+	+	+
440. Jumping						+		+	+	+	+	+
441. Hopping						+			+	•+	+	+
442. Lifting stones				+						•+	+	+
443. Throwing stones				+					−	+	+	+
444. Shooting and throwing arrows									+	+	+	+
445. Fond of gambling	+	+		+		−		+	S	S	+	+

| | | |

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

728 by one party (421). On the other hand, there was no agreement as to how the desire for peace was broached or who the negotiators or ambassadors were (419, 422-24). No changes are indicated in these elements; rather, it seems that a variety of customs were permissible at any period.

The ambassadors were probably appointed by the civil chiefs, by the council of wisemen, or both. Their mission many times was preceded by the showing of a desire for peace by a war chief while in enemy territory. Heckewelder was the only one to throw any doubt on the sanctity with which the person of the ambassador was held, and he blamed all violations on the whites.

[535] Dancing at the conclusion of a peace was affirmed and denied in both the third and fourth period, with the majority reporting its practice (425). On the basis of the first copy of Pipe's account, the third-period sources denied the connection of feasts with peace ceremonies, whereas the fourth-period informants all maintained that feasts were given (426). However, Pipe's account was changed in the second and third copies to vouch for the feasts that had been definitely denied in the first copy, and thus this clear cut division between the information of the two periods does not exist. I suspect that the data of the fourth period reflect precontact and early contact customs that had been dropped as a general practice by the third period when most of the treaty negotiations were between whites and Indians rather than between different tribes of Indians. Pipe's reversal may be explained and correlated with this hypothesis by assuming that his first account related the contemporaneous practice and his revised accounts the custom in the past. The exchange of belts was unquestioned and the smoking of a pipe almost so (427-28). Pipe's statement that the Delaware "never used the pipe as the northern nations do" contradicts both previous and subsequent accounts and is most incomprehensible.

Games

526 The ball play, sometimes known as la crosse, usually indulged in by the tribes of the eastern United States was common among the Delaware according to the second- and third-period sources

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

and, of course, many accounts not used here (431). Three of the fourth-period informants, J. W., E. R. and W. L., all denied most emphatically that the Delaware ever had ball play. They knew the game and said that the Creeks and others played it but never the Delaware. W. T. of the Washita Delaware did not join in the denial. Repeated inquiries directed at J. W. and W. L. failed to shake their determination that the Delaware had never played the game. A similar reticence about this game among the Shawnee was finally broken down by Erminie W. Voegelin and found to spring from the prohibition of the game imposed by the government in 1874. Her informant stated that the Creek, Yuchi, Delaware, and Choctaw, all played the shinny game. The Shawnee played it until about 1874; after that little boys played it only, just for fun. The Shawnee played so much they neglected their crops. Then the government made them quit playing it.

Details of the various games were so seldom given that comparisons between the different periods are impossible. Usually only the presence or absence of a game can be noted. One exception is the dice game, in describing which all narrators mentioned two colors for the dice.

Reports of the number of dice used varied from five to twelve, with six being the number most frequently given. There was only one report, that of W. L., of twelve, and the suspicion arose that this might have been an extension by the informant of the sacred number twelve to the game and not the true case. Although no record of the connection between the dice game and the Big House Ceremony where the number twelve predominates is found, nor any memory of such a connection is recalled by the Oklahoma Delaware, the fact that Brinton collected in 1887 an account of this game played with twelve flat bones, and that it was said to have had, in the old days, a place in the native religious rites of the Delaware in Ontario," furnishes corroboration of the authenticity of W. L.'s account.

"Brinton, Daniel G., "Lenâpé Conversations," in *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, 1(1888), 40.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

526 177 Games show no change of any significance aside from denial of ball play. Every game reported in earlier periods was remembered in the fourth period. Moccasin game undoubtedly was restricted to play in connection with funeral ceremonies in the fourth but not in earlier periods.

Dances

535 Dances, like games, show remarkably little change. The begging dance, reported in the third period, drew two definite denials in the fourth, while two informants did not even recognize the [721] dance (451). As this dance was usually held in connection with the outfitting of a war party, a fact of which none of the informants were aware (459), the two denials should more properly be classed as lack of information.

The two most important dances from the point of view of the Delaware were the *engomxeen* and the *linkaokon* (448-49). [796] These were their only dances with a religious significance (456-57). The *engomxeen* or worshiping dance was a part of the Big House Ceremony. The *linkaokon* was recognized by most of the informants by that name but is better known as the doll dance. The first has not been held since 1924 and the other since 1929. The only dances that have been held in recent years have been social dances which are not represented in the element list.

Music

533 The elements listed under music are, of course, closely related [796] to dances. The statement of Johnston that there was no ceremonial music except solo singing was refuted by all the informants who felt qualified to answer (475). Johnston's further statement that only nonsense or insignificant words were used in songs, even though corroborated by Chipps, is likewise denied by the same three informants and also by Heckewelder (476). In both these cases the informants are undoubtedly right. The error of Johnston is an understandable one when it is realized that songs were mostly of words carrying allusions, that many of them were archaic forms used only in songs, and that meaningless syllables were added to complete the rhythm, with the results that only an instructed person could understand them.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Dolaware NM7

W. T.—Originally there was no war, hence no peace rules until after whites introduced war. William Penn made a treaty with the Delaware. The delegates (chief, assistant chief, war chief, and councilors) at this and later treaties, met, and talked things over, smoked just like businessmen do today. The white delegates were given food just like Indians always feed any visitors. At the Penn treaty they ate turkey. Thanksgiving day among the whites commemorates this first turkey feast. 721 728

429. Flag of truce

J. W. said that a flag of truce was something blue. 728

GAMES

432. Football

J. W. and W. T. said football was taken over recently from Shawnee. 526

W. L. said that the football game was played with the women against the men. There were two goal posts on the east side and two on the west. Each side tried to send the ball between the posts of the other side. The men had to kick the ball but the women could throw it. Once they appointed a man to help the women. He was mobbed and that was not tried again.

436. Cards

ROGER WILLIAMS reported a game like English cards in which rushes were used instead of cards. 525

VAN DER DONCK said that they played a game with pieces of reeds, resembling our card playing.

W. L. said that seven-up was the favorite game.

441. Hopping

W. T. stated that the game was to see who could cover the most ground in three hops. 524

442. Lifting stones

W. T. said that contests of lifting stones in the old days were really trials of the vision power of the different individuals, for 781 526

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

781 in those days some through their power were able to lift stones
526 weighing over a thousand pounds with one hand.

447. Moccasin game

524 JOHN JOHNSTON described the moccasin game as follows with-
525 out any mention of its connection with the wake of a deceased person:

Moccasin is commenced by placing a blanket or two upon the ground, placing four moccasins upon the blankets. A small ball is made use of. They draw cuts to know which party has the ball first. One of the party that it falls to hides it under one of those moccasins and one of the other party looks for it, if the ball is under the moccasin he first draws, he had found it, if not one of the same party hides it again and it counts one in their tally, or if he turns over last he has found it and one of his party hides it, but if it is not under the one he first draws or if he turns them up and it is not under the one that he turns up last, it is considered not found and the same party hides it. The party that has the ball to hide sings and the other party is silent. For their tally they use three balls or sticks and every time the ball is hid and not found by the other party, one of those balls or sticks is given to the party that hid it until the three come together which is game and the party that has the balls has beat. They agree how many games they will play for the property that is at stake. They frequently make large bets upon this kind of game especially when one tribe plays against another.

All the modern informants reported this game being played only the night before a funeral.

DANCES

448 and 449. Worshiping and common or corn dance

535 JOHN JOHNSTON—They had originally but two and one of them has been described in their mode of worship the other is conducted in similar manner, but they think of less consequence. At this dance the men all dance in front, the women in the rear in a single file at this dance. They have two that sing and beat